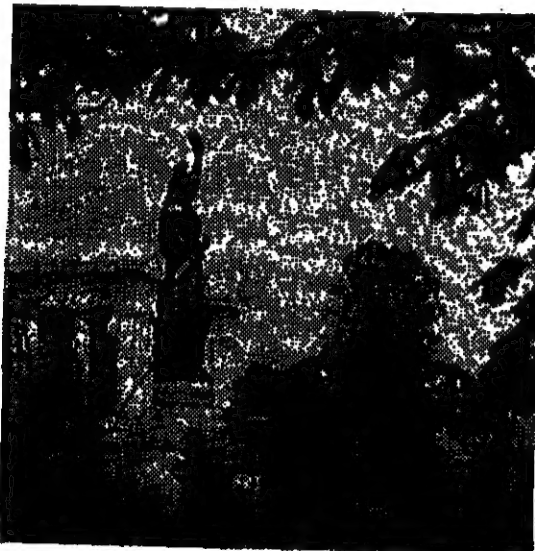


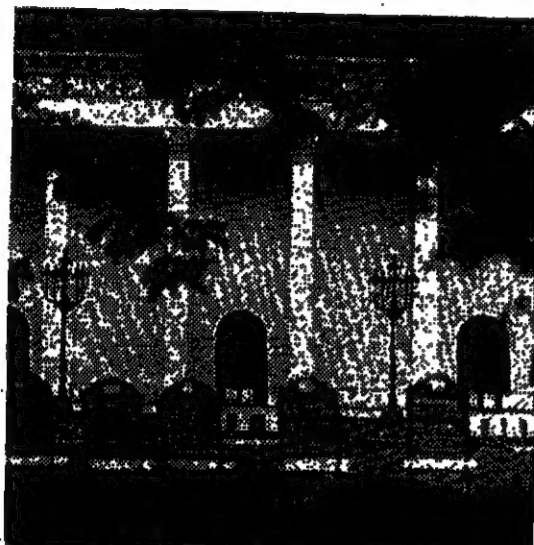


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The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

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Hamburg, 29 April 1971
Fifth Year - No. 472 - By air

Impatient Warsaw chafes at the Berlin bit

Handelsblatt
19 April 1971

What changes have taken place in Polish foreign policy? None, Warsaw invariably replies, answer at the end of last year had nothing to do with foreign affairs.

Indeed, shortly before his dismissal Wladyslaw Gomułka scored a major foreign policy success in concluding with Bonn an agreement confirming the Oder-Neisse line as Poland's western frontier, something long felt desirable.

The Treaty was only signed four months ago yet already there are aspects of it that do not quite tally with the Polish foreign policy picture before the New Year.

Josef Cyrankiewicz, at that time Polish Premier, intimated to Chancellor Brandt the signing of the Treaty that Poland would prefer it not to be ratified prior to ratification of the Treaty between Bonn and Moscow.

Officially there have been no changes in this line of argument and public pronouncements by prominent Polish politicians still toe the Cyrankiewicz line.

Behind the scenes, though, other views are voiced. The diametrical opposite of

the Moscow Treaty, which in its turn is not to be ratified until a satisfactory solution to the Berlin question has been arrived at.

What is more, the Treaty with Prague is first to be signed and a settlement with the GDR first negotiated before the Eastern package is to be submitted to the Bundestag in one job lot.

This procedure to be followed prior to ratification of the Warsaw Treaty is regarded sceptically in certain circles in the Polish capital.

The Bonn-Warsaw Treaty, they maintain, resurrecting an argument that is anything but novel, is mainly a moral matter that ought not necessarily to be linked with other political problems of more topical importance.

The provision of guarantees of safe frontiers has long been a Polish foreign policy aim and for most Poles frontier guarantees represent an independent issue of national importance.

And this is only one side of the argument. The other is even more likely to encourage demands for prior ratification of the Treaty with Poland.

Certain circles in Poland have come to realise that the tie-up with the Moscow Treaty and a Berlin settlement will mean some considerable time is likely to pass before the Treaty with Poland comes into force. Above all they disapprove of ratification of the Warsaw Treaty being made dependent on a satisfactory Berlin settlement.

They feel that America and Russia view Berlin merely within the framework of overall international tension and détente and that the settlement decision will be reached, if and when it is reached, by the Great Powers alone.

Little store is set by Poland's influence



Music in Bonn

Joan Kennedy appeared in Bonn with the Boston Symphony Orchestra as the narrator in a performance of Prokofiev's *Peter and the Wolf*. She was joined the following day by her husband, Senator Edward Kennedy. They were entertained in Bonn by Foreign Minister Walter Scheel and his wife, Mildred. (Photo: dpa)

on Moscow and the impotence of the smaller partner in the face of the hegemonial power comes through loud and clear.

So it is that certain circles in Poland propose to manoeuvre themselves out of the dead end they feel they have reached with the Warsaw Treaty and to do so without delay.

Viewed in this light two recent Polish moves make more sense. The one was the semi-official announcement via Polish diplomats in Stockholm that Warsaw is now interested in prompt ratification, the other the leak in *Zycie Warszawy*, the Warsaw daily, about the details of which appeared quite promising.

It can be assumed without a shadow of doubt that the leak was not published without Moscow's knowledge, not to say collusion. And as the extracts published

sounded fairly reasonable Warsaw will have been glad to have been of assistance.

Nothing could be more in line with the intentions of certain circles in Warsaw than to 'hike' out a settlement on Berlin to be within closer reach than is really the case.

The longer the preliminaries take, the more impatient and irritated the Poles will grow. Warsaw has, when all is said and done, attached certain hopes to the Treaty, specifically hopes of a financial nature, and certain circles in Warsaw reckon they are being done out of their due.

Disappointment at not having made as much progress or gained as many advantages from the Treaty with Bonn as had been hoped may well gain increasing support.

Helmut Verfürth

(Handelsblatt, 19 April 1971)

France and Algeria end special relationship

Following twenty months of fruitless negotiations France and Algeria have brought to an end the preferential treatment they have accorded each other since the Evian agreement of 1962.

In future they are to entertain normal relations with one another and base their decisions from one instance to the next solely on specific interests and financial considerations.

It is no longer mainly a matter of the Sahara petroleum. The increase in price and the 51-per-cent take-over of French firms without appropriate recompense have merely been the immediate cause of a breakdown that could be and was foreseen in advance but not credited by President Pompidou until the last moment.

At Mr. Pompidou's personal behest Herve Alphand, a career diplomat, had been instructed to prolong negotiations

with Algeria as long as possible, bargaining over technical details and financial procedures.

These tactics were wrong. The petroleum talks have now reached final deadlock. President Pompidou needs new supplies. President Boumedienne needs customers.

At the same time Paris is doing its best to discredit Algeria in the eyes of the World Bank and Washington. Algeria is in the process of negotiating an important natural gas agreement with the United States.

Technological and cultural co-operation between the two countries is to continue for the time being but mutual trust has gone by the board and although the 500,000 Algerians working in France are remaining there on no means intends to commit himself irrevocably to one side or the other.

On assuming office M. Pompidou talked in terms of a new plan for the Mediterranean in which Algeria was to occupy a key role. Nothing has since been heard of the idea and the severance of the special ties between the two countries puts an end to it.

France's withdrawal from Algeria creates a new situation in the western Mediterranean. The two superpowers have gained in importance.

The crucial reasons for French strategy and tactics in recent years were not only petroleum and natural gas but also, not to say mainly, Algeria's strategic position on the southern flank of Western Europe and as a focal point in the Mediterranean.

The growing number of Soviet experts and technicians in Algeria is an indication that France's former colony is going its own way. The natural gas talks with the United States show that President Boumedienne by no means intends to commit himself irrevocably to one side or the other.

A new leaf has been turned over - not only in relations between Paris and Algeria but in the entire western Mediterranean.

Robert Haritz

(Hannoversche Presse, 17 April 1971)

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GERMAN TRIBUNE Quarterly

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■ ARMED FORCES

Unna captains affair puts the cat among the brass hat canaries

DIE ZEIT

Defence Minister Helmut Schmidt has gagged the thirty Army captains of the Seventh Armoured Division in Unna who published a statement deploring certain aspects of the armed forces.

But they still found enough spokesmen who turned the affair into the latest Bundeswehr crisis within a week of the statement's publication.

Party politics dominate the affair both in the Bundestag and the press. The controversy may eclipse the main issue about which the officers rightly complain and in which they could be given help, at least in the long term.

Opposition to the government both within and without the Bundestag views the Unna memorandum less as a demand to create better training conditions for the troops than a welcome opportunity to discredit the army's political leadership in the eyes of the public and in the eyes of members of the armed forces themselves.

Friedrich Zimmermann, the Christian Social Union chairman of the Defence Committee, spread great unease recently in the Bundestag debate on security.

He was the first person to link the general survey of the armed forces that has become known as the Schnez Paper with the captains' statement and state that their motives and demands were identical.

Zimmermann said that as the "new political leadership had rejected the survey wholesale for party political reasons"

the same questions were now being raised at company level by the officer corps.

The 1969 study set out to answer the question of how an army condemned to a lack of history could be given some binding sense of tradition, how the Fatherland could be given the necessary interpretation as a moral value and how obstinate publications media could be persuaded to explain to the population the defence role of the armed forces as the traditionalists in the service would like.

Despite Friedrich Zimmermann and these traditionalists, it is to be hoped that the army captains did not intend to give any such impression in their memorandum.

It is also to be hoped that the untenable attacks against the military and political leadership (the falsification of the balance of power between East and West, the serfdom of the military leadership and political abuse of the power of civilian command) only resulted from their excessive anger concerning all the "adversities and inadequacies" caused by the shortage of personnel and the restricted space for manoeuvres which plague their day-to-day service.

The points made by a group of lieutenants in 1970 were also raised once again during the debate but it was not asked how representative they were of the mass of officers beneath the rank of captain.

The Opposition spokesman acted as a mouthpiece of previous controversy in the press, stating that the lieutenants' statement on freedom of opinion in the armed forces had been praised by the Minister.

Now, the Opposition spokesman added, the refusal of discussions on the captains' memorandum, its rejection and the di-

visional commander's order to treat it as no more than an internal matter are the consequences of this freedom of opinion.

Unfortunately Helmut Schmidt has not explained the basic difference between the points made by the lieutenants and the captains at Unna that demands different treatment.

The lieutenants stated concisely what they understood by an officer's career and how they would like the leadership to think of it. They looked at their profession rationally as a "hard job". The definition may meet with disapproval but it was only a contribution toward a general discussion on the issue.

The captains on the other hand linked their complaints concerning the service with serious political attacks against the Bundeswehr leadership. By disregarding military discipline, they tried to force the Minister to negotiate with them.

They will get their wish. But they would be advised to examine their statement beforehand and decide which points are defensible and which indefensible.

Are the aims of integrating the modern soldier into society and raising his fighting potential to the best possible level really mutually exclusive, with the result that one can only be achieved at the cost of the other?

The duty of a soldier to defend his country with his life no longer gives him any professional privilege "sui generis" in times of peace. But he would have the privilege in a future war of dying with a weapon in his hand while civilians would meet their death unarmed.

There is no other honest means for military commanders in the West to educate their troops than by appealing to the point of view that it is worth living in our State and social order, that it is,

however, challenged by hostile powers and can only be preserved if troops are prepared to fight to defend it.

In view of the scepticism of the younger generation this is certainly a difficult and at times apparently impossible task. It is much more difficult than any form of ideological education practised in the past and practised today in the enemy camp.

It is easier to fight against interior than for freedom.

Bundeswehr C-in calls for more science in military training

Speaking to industrialists in a problem remaining is the Sudetenland question. At the beginning of the new Ostpolitik the Bundeswehr must provide its leadership with a scientific basis. It may now prove to be the most difficult of all.

The Bundeswehr must use science to ensure the use of the threat of force the same matter-of-fact way as the 1938 does. A scientifically based training Munich Agreement to be invalid from the Maizière said, aided the efficiency of the army by beginning to raise an almost insoluble problem.

The Education Commission headed by Professor Ellwein believes that the forces could learn and practice functions that would be of use later in professional life.

De Maizière said he believed that many functions within the army could not be summed up by the word "soldiering".

Fighter pilots, tank commanders, boat captains, radar operators, engineers and heads of supply depots would judge their performance according to varying criteria.

These varying criteria must be fed into the public to make them aware of the true situation and recruitment.

(Handelsblatt, 13 April)

REVIEW

Invalidating Munich Agreement presents international problems

The two days of exploratory talks in Prague at the end of March between the Secretary Paul Frank of the Foreign Office and Czech Deputy Foreign Minister Klusak marked the start of the attempt to solve the last big problem in relations between this country and her neighbours.

In the West all border issues with France, Belgium and the Netherlands were settled a long time ago. Agreement was reached on the Oder-Neisse question in Warsaw last December. The only problem remaining is the Sudetenland question.

At the beginning of the new Ostpolitik this seemed to be one of the easiest of problems to solve. It may now prove to be the most difficult of all.

Czechoslovakia and the Federal Republic would be able to agree on a treaty renouncing the use of the threat of force the same matter-of-fact way as the 1938 does. A scientifically based training Munich Agreement to be invalid from the Maizière said, aided the efficiency of the army by beginning to raise an almost insoluble problem.

Czechoslovakia's claim that the Agreement signed in Munich on 29 September 1938 transferring the Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia to the German Reich came into being because of threats and compulsion is a doubly correct.

We know today that Hitler intended to smash Czechoslovakia shortly after the Anschluss with Austria. Konrad Henlein's Sudeten German Party allowed itself to be used by Hitler to spread National Socialist policy.

During the course of the spring and the summer of 1938 Henlein and his party systematically created a situation where war or peace in Europe seemed to depend on Prague.

At the same time Hitler was able to

count on the Western states' sympathy for his demand to include all Germans in one State, as long as they lived in countries directly bordering on the German Reich.

The illusion was still rife that he would be satisfied as soon as he had achieved his aim. Step by step he gained the support of Italy, France and Great Britain where Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain was pursuing a consistent policy of appeasement. In the end Czechoslovakia had to bow to the pressure of the major European powers. Only the Soviet Union stood aloof.

For Czechoslovakia, the Munich Agreement was the beginning of the end. After the cessation of the Sudetenland she was mercilessly exposed to German pressure. On the home front, differences between Czechs and Slovaks increased.

Six months later, in March 1939, Hitler managed to bring about the end of Czechoslovakia. While Slovakia became an autonomous State and a satellite of the Reich, German troops occupied the Czech part of the country that were declared a protectorate of the Reich.

This further course of history shows why the Munich Agreement has become a trauma for Czechoslovakia.

During the Second World War the exiled Czech government in London under Eduard Benes did all it could to force an annulment of the Munich Agreement by the Western powers that had been party to it.

The Czechs viewed this as the only way to ensure the resurrection of a Czechoslovak State. They did not only want to win back the Sudetenland but also wanted to restore the unity of Czechs and Slovaks that had been broken as a result of the Munich Agreement.

DIE TAGESSPIEGEL

That is why Czechoslovakia today demands that the Munich Agreement must be declared invalid from the moment it was signed. The Agreement is to disappear from history books so that there can be no doubt about the integrity of the State of Czechoslovakia.

In the case of an annulment of the Munich Agreement ex tunc, as the international lawyers say, the Czech government would probably be prepared to propose pragmatic solutions for all resultant problems.

The Sudeten Germans' frequent cry that they would be in an impossible situation if there was an ex tunc annulment as they would suddenly become Czech citizens once again is probably incorrect. Problems of nationality and property could be solved if both sides show they want a solution.

Czechoslovakia indeed does not want to claim the Sudeten Germans as its citizens. The fear that Sudeten Germans could be arrested as army deserters when visiting Czechoslovakia and forced to appear before a court is probably unfounded. At any rate this worry could be eliminated by a corresponding treaty.

The Federal Republic is therefore prepared in principle to declare the Munich Agreement invalid from a point lying well back in the past.

International lawyers have dealt with all aspects of this problem in recent months and conclude that the right date for its invalidity would be the day of the

German invasion of Czechoslovakia in March 1939. It was then that Hitler obviously violated the terms of the Agreement.

If it annulled the Agreement from this date, the Federal Republic would find itself in harmony with the Western powers who declared it invalid during the Second World War, though not ex tunc.

There would be difficult legal problems in this case too and solutions are possible. The Sudeten Germans would not agree to a solution of this type. They still want to retain the chance to return to their former home in the future.

But contrary to a lot of supposition it is not the demands of the Sudeten Germans that is preventing the government from fulfilling Czech demands for ex tunc annulment.

It is the general principles of international law that present an insurmountable obstacle. There is no doubt that the Munich Agreement was legally recognised by all States involved even though it was a result of pressure.

If Czech demands were met, international law would be subject to the greatest insecurity. A move of this type would mean that any State wishing to withdraw from an international treaty could claim that it had stood under pressure at the time of signing.

Few international treaties are signed without pressure of some type. In recent times for instance many States signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty because they were under a certain pressure. Does this mean that they will be able to revoke this treaty at a later date?

As the Federal Republic, unlike Hitler's Reich, takes its international obligations seriously it cannot agree to annulling the Munich Treaty ex tunc. All political parties are agreed on this point.

The Federal Republic long ago satisfied Czechoslovakia's claims by declaring that it would not use the Munich Agreement as a basis for territorial demands. By annulling the Agreement from March 1939, it would be taking an important step forward. But beyond this point its way is blocked.

Wolfgang Wagner
(DIE TAGESSPIEGEL, 7 April 1971)

Conscientious objectors give Bonn a major headache

For many years conscientious objectors existed in the Federal Republic without being any problem. Their numbers remained below the forecasted figures and giving them alternative work presented no difficulties.

Numbers have rocketed in recent years since political objections have been recognised as reasonable grounds for refusal of service along with religious and humanitarian objections. But there was little sign of unease at first.

Bonn now considers any delay to be dangerous. During the latest armed forces debate in the Bundestag spokesmen representing all parties attacked the younger generation's growing disinclination to do armed service.

A further increase in the number of conscientious objectors is to be checked with the help of the Third Bill for the Amendment of the Act Governing the Civilian Replacement Service that is now before the Bundestag.

The main aim of the amendment is to create more opportunities for calling up conscientious objectors into the replacement service. At present only one in four are called upon to do this work.

Some conscientious objectors doubtlessly include this shortage of places into their calculations when refusing military service. There is still a good chance of not being called up into the replacement service, at any rate a far better chance than of not being conscripted into the armed forces.

But there can be no accurate proof that the mass of conscientious objectors inwardly reject the obligations placed upon

them by the State and society, as Chancellor Brandt put it.

All statements opposing the planned amendment do not question the obligation to do alternative work in the replacement service but criticise the work that has to be done.

The present discussion was mainly sparked off by the government's intention of allowing conscientious objectors to work in the technical sphere or in public administration as long as there is a need for extra staff that cannot be filled in any other way.

The technical sphere and public administration include the post office, the railways, the fire brigade and ambulance services.

Conscientious objectors suspect that this will be a new sort of labour service especially as they have learnt from the union of post office workers that the positions in question are mainly those that no one else wants because of poor pay or unfavourable hours.

They see here a break in the link between peace service and the reasons for their decision not to serve in the armed forces. They demand a political function based on Basic Law: the preservation of peace. They believe that they can carry out this function best and most sensibly by

working to eliminate the causes of political and social discord.

The conscientious objectors give a whole list of ways they could help in this respect. They could work in kindergartens and day nurseries, help with school work in poor areas (a very high proportion of conscientious objectors hold the Abitur school-leaving certificate), or take care of foreign workers, the handicapped or prisoners in need of rehabilitation.

But this sociological sphere is to remain closed to them although they have, as Hans Iven, the man responsible for their work, says, done excellent work in hospitals and nursing homes.

A statement by the hospitals' association shows that not all the opportunities offered have yet been exhausted. The present number of 2,600 places for conscientious objectors in hospitals could easily be increased to over five thousand.

Does Bonn fear that extending the range of work done by the replacement service could make it more attractive than the armed services even if the chance of not being called upon to do the alternative work is considerably reduced?

The Bundestag is not expected to make many changes to the government Bill. The hearing on this subject arranged by the labour and social services committee

took place in camera for some reason but it probably did little more than go through the motions.

The fact that the Bill was given little reading in the Bundestag without discussion indicates that the parties will get the Bill on the statute book with little fuss as possible.

But conscientious objectors are in a fuss. They have demanded that the resignation on wanted-style posters should also have the support of the Churches and trades unions.

They still feel that they are discriminated against as second-class citizens even though the new law envisages some improvements in other areas - they are to be given the chance of promotion, a Federal bureau and will devote themselves to their affairs there will also be introductory courses.

Bonn's desire for greater justice in armed forces can be seen in the latest Bill. But it has not been admitted, nor has it been admitted, that the younger generation has not been made aware of the need for armed forces.

If this had been done, the number of these conscientious objectors and their political motives would certainly be so high.

The politicians who condemn conscientious objection and threaten the introduction of work squads are the easy way out. The best way to overcome young people is to convince them.

Rainer Dederichs
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 13 April)

Bismarck's constitution drawn up 100 years ago

the only minister in the Empire, and proclaimed the laws passed by Reichstag and Bundesrat, the Federal Council.

The Bundesrat functioned as a control organ of the other kings and princes. The Chancellor headed this body in his capacity as Prime Minister of Prussia.

The Bundesrat had to approve the laws passed by the Reichstag and could dissolve this body with the Kaiser's approval and order new elections within sixty days.

If need be, the Bundesrat was also able to inflict the Reichsexecution over states that had not carried out their obligations to the Empire. But in the difficult negotiations in 1870 Bismarck had made it a condition of her union with the North German Confederation of 1867 that this would never be used against her.

The Kingdom of Saxony also retained special rights concerning her army and Bavaria and Württemberg were allowed special privileges concerning their armies, postal services and railways.

Without these concessions Bismarck, the creator of this loose federation, would have been unable to push through the formation of the Empire in 1870 and 1871.

The second element was of a decidedly conservative nature. Bismarck wanted to do all he could to retain Prussian superiority in the federation.

The third element had a democratic, unifying character. The Constitution of the Empire standardised law, currency, banking, postal services and railways and united the various army contingents that the Reichstag had to finance. All these were steps on the path toward a nation state.

The nation that was neither existent nor in the process of becoming aware of its identity first came together in March 1871 when the Reichstag was elected.

All men over 25 were allowed general, equal and direct suffrage, a dangerous innovation in the view of the member states.

Bismarck was unwilling to concede a salary and expenses for Reichstag deputies as he feared that this could lead to the formation of a class of career politicians and a parliamentary bureaucracy.

The Reichstag passed laws for all spheres of domestic, financial, economic and social policy and had full control over the budget.

The Chancellor was appointed by the Kaiser and responsible to him. He had to obtain a majority in the Reichstag, if necessary through coalitions, in order to have his budget accepted.

This was a semi-parliamentarism which then gained greater and greater importance in constitutional practice. Theoretically a vote of no confidence was

possible. This was first carried out against Bethmann Hollweg in 1913 though without any real results.

An autocratic Kaiser such as Wilhelm II may have been unwilling to admit it, but in practice the head of state was unable to rule without the support of the Reichstag in this constitutional system - unless martial law was proclaimed - and the elected body could not act without or against the monarch.

Bismarck's constitution had constructive progressive features. General suffrage forced the member states to consider how long they could or would adhere to antiquated electoral systems based on taxes, property and education.

The Federal Council or Bundesrat gradually lost its influence while the parliament gained in importance especially as the liberal and left-wing parties gained a majority in the last elections held in 1912, thus forcing the conservative ruling classes in the Reichstag into Opposition.

The last government of the Imperial period - that of Chancellor Prince Max of Baden in 1918 - already governed according to the ideas of a liberal, left-wing coalition, the Reichstag "Inter-Party Committee" consisting of a number of parliamentarians including Majority Social Democrats.

This, like the parliamentary reform of the constitution, came too late. But when the founders of the Republican constitution came to late. But when the founders of the Republican constitution set to work in 1919 they suddenly discovered many positive features in the much-maligned Bismarckian constitution.

(DIE WELT, 10 April 1971)

PUBLISHING

Simplicissimus - the satirical magazine to top them all

Albert Langen of Cologne was a wiry, impulsive man who, as the youngest of five brothers and sisters, had inherited one million Marks and did not know quite what to do with the money.

In or around 1893 he turned up in Paris. Eager for fame and pleasant company, he joined the Bohemians on the Montmartre - this type of life flourished at the height of the *belle époque* - painted and wrote to prove himself worthy of entry into their society but mainly became known and loved for his generosity.

He lost a lot of money in the process until a well-meaning French friend advised him that, if his desire to see his name printed on a book's title page was so strong, he would do better to stop writing his own books and print those of people who were able to write more profoundly and which would sell.

Young Albert saw the logic of this advice, founded the Albert Langen publishing concern and changed his company. In Paris the gods mixed with the mortals. Langen got to know such well-known people as Björnsterne Björnson, later to be awarded the Nobel Prize. Indeed he knew Björnson so well that he was allowed to marry his youngest daughter Dagny.

He dined with Knut Hamsun, Henrik Ibsen, Georg Brandes, Emile Zola, Anatole France and Marcel Prévost and won the German publishing rights for their books.

Langen went to work with enthusiasm. He published book after book until he realised that it was difficult for a German publishing house based in Paris to deal with its customers.

He therefore returned to Germany,

going first to Leipzig. After growing tired of being cold-shouldered by the local competition he moved to Munich where he got along more easily.

Langen had a real sense of presentation and came up with the idea of providing books with colourful illustrated dust covers to replace the largely neutral ones that had previously been used.

This scheme proved a great success and though everybody soon copied the idea it was Langen who first developed it to a fine art.

A designer by the name of Thomas Theodor Heine proved to be particularly talented and imaginative in this work. He was six years older than Langen, was born in Leipzig, had learnt to draw at the Düsseldorf academy and finally chose to live in Munich.

An idea was crystallising in the minds of the two men, though they did not know what. It took on its final shape when Langen heard that Otto Erich Hartleben and Maximilian Harden intended to start a satirical periodical. Harden had already picked a title - *Simplicissimus*.

Langen set to work. He offered Hartleben the post of editor-in-chief but this was rejected. Harden too declined on the grounds that he had enough to do with his *Zukunft*.

Langen himself took over the control of the periodical and announced: "Forcefulness, naturalness and true freshness will be more to *Simplicissimus*' liking than pathological fear or a painfully nervous art. Where a poet or artist criticises the hypocritical attitude toward grievances and social evils, *Simplicissimus* will applaud with all the more joy if the artist does not thereby forget his art!"

Langen had formed a temporary staff for the periodical by using a lot of money and even more persuasion. The first issue appeared on 4 April 1896, a Saturday. Langen recklessly printed half a million copies in the naive belief that sellers would rush through the streets shouting their wares as he had seen them do in Paris. But this was illegal in Germany. The magazine had to be used as wrapping paper. The publishing house estimated that little more than five hundred copies were sold. Langen did not lose heart. The periodical had been born. It should now cling to life, flourish and acquire the special differentiating character that it still lacked. The price of ten pfennigs was too low and scarcely covered expenses. Langen, a rich man only on the surface, approached his moneyed relations. He stood his ground, worked even harder and increased the teamwork amongst his staff.

His best man was and remained Thomas Theodor Heine who created the symbol of the red bulldog. Heine had once been a light cartoonist in popular flysheets, cultivating harmless jests about fat pigs and forgotten umbrellas.

But now he suddenly revealed himself to be a first-rate satirist and critic whose cartoons and articles were extremely biting and powerful.

He did not try to create a monopoly for himself on the periodical but brought in other highly-talented cartoonists.



A cartoon by E. Schilling in *Simplicissimus*, 1924, depicting Lenin and Karl Marx.

though indulging in different styles, the scurrilousness of his work there is the moulded them into the team.

These included Eduard Thöny, in which the most contradictory elements before or since, Bruno Paul with his outlines, Freiherr von Reznick in a biography by John Russell the gallant charm and Wilhelm Schöndorff in the effect of the muse cartoonist's trade. While visiting his Norwegian home in 1902, he came on young Olaf Gulbransson and allowed him to escape his control.

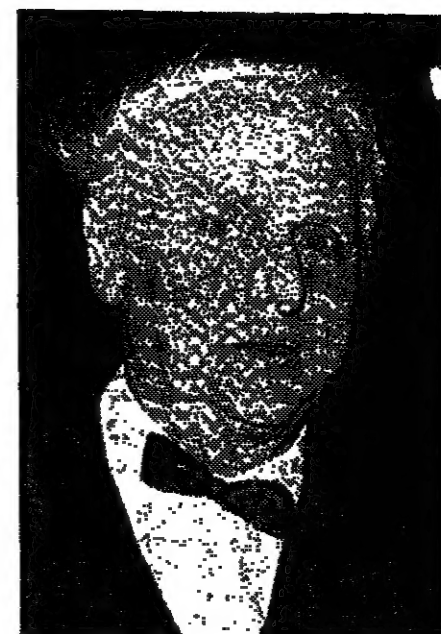
But it was Albert Langen himself who attracted the greatest master of the cartoonist's trade. While visiting his Norwegian home in 1902, he came on young Olaf Gulbransson and allowed him to escape his control.

The imagination and exemplary caricature, ideas and visions whose brutal presentation is only made tolerable by repeated humour and detached irony.

For instance in 1934 he described the

PROFILES

Surrealism founder Max Ernst is eighty



Max Ernst

(Photo: dpa)

natural surrounding of the human being in a faithfully prophetic article: "The day will come when a satyr, which had previously been nothing but a skirt-chaser, will have to decide only to drink in soft drink bars and walk along asphalt streets with Sunday afternoon strollers. He will be geometrical, conscientious, dutiful, grammatical, judicial, pastoral, clerical, contractivist and republican..."

The dominating tendencies in the artistic development of Max Ernst are the passionate urge to experiment and the efforts to make his works avoid becoming dogmatic or systematic.

defoliated, charred forests, petrified in ghastly silence; ghost cities; rotting shapes peopled with demonic creatures; chimera and hurricanes; bizarre called Hornbom or Loplop hanging in leaden air and above all this in a yellowish faded circle of sun - is the universe that Max Ernst has created in his pictures.

It is a world behind the outward appearance of things, dreamy, surrealistic, dominated by primeval fears and images arising from the unconscious. For the painter, now 80 years old, the profession of the Surrealists still applies. It was formulated by the theoretician of the movement André Breton as belief in a higher reality of certain associated forms, in the omnipotence of dream and the play of thoughts.

Behind the colour poetry and imagination the scurrilousness of his work there is the moulded them into the team.

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Armand Gatti's Rosa Kollektiv premiere in Kassel fails to combine drama and agitation successfully

students from Strasbourg, Black Panthers, the Major who murdered her and today's television presenter.

They all try to carry out their task - though without success. It is the playwright's plan to take dialectic advantage from their failure - he wishes to rouse the public to action.

Gatti tries to express this more radi-

ally and more complicatedly with a successive play. His *Birth* two years ago pointed out that the reality of Guatemala was deformed into a thought that could be really effective value of these images can however be action.

But *Rosa Kollektiv* on the other hand is completely ineffective. Its form is a dissection of all types, its method is a dissection.

Everything concerned with the action play that does not take place is branded as fiction, reaching a climax in the statement that "Rosa no longer corresponds to people today and therefore reject her".

Everyone comes to the same conclusion, whatever their position on the political spectrum. Confusion brought by producers Kal Braak and in the television studio.

There is terror and counter-terror, National Democrat brawlers and demonstrators, caricatures, slogans including

action.

But this cannot be done gradually. It must be done at one jump. The team led by producers Kal Braak and in the television studio.

There is terror and counter-terror, National Democrat brawlers and demonstrators, caricatures, slogans including

action.

Continued on page 7

A scene from the Kassel production of Gatti's *Rosa Kollektiv*

(Photo: Kasper)

Continued from page 6

murder, theatre, pop art and indications of worse conditions here and there.

The theatre becomes an incessant mechanism to dissolve reality, corresponding to the principle of rejecting the theatre as sterile fiction. Both Gatti and the Kassel theatre seem to have overlooked the fact that this turn has a paralysing effect.

The production confuses the audience. Its intention of providing stimuli to thought that could be really effective value of these images can however be action.

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Actress Brigitte Horney turns sixty



Brigitte Horney

(Photo: IP/Kalender)

understanding of Brigitte Horney's parents made it possible for her to follow her artistic bent without any problems.

Biggy took drama training under the renowned Berlin actress and educationalist Ilka Grüning and later received a contract from the Würzburg Stadtheater. When she won first prize in a competi-

tion for the promotion of up-and-coming young thespians the silver screen began to take an interest in her talent. Richard Siodmak gave the completely unknown actress the main role in his film *Abschied* after a successful audition.

Ufa directors were so enthralled by the young woman's acting that they offered her a tempting contract. Many screen roles followed. Brigitte Horney acted in *Liebe Tod und Teufel*, *Der grüne Domino*, *Verklungene Melodie*, *Befreite Hände*, *Das Mädchen von Fand* and *Münchhausen*, among others.

After the War she was seen in *So lange du bist*, *Der letzte Sommer* and *Nacht fiel über Götterhafen*.

Brigitte Horney showed her talent at its best advantage at the Deutsches Theater, the Lessingtheater and the Berliner Volksbühne, and in front of the cameras in German and British studios.

Her successful career was broken off abruptly when she had to enter hospital for two and a half years with tuberculosis in the bone of a leg which had to be kept in plaster.

But even in this difficult period she lost none of her sense of humour, and her naturalness and courage - qualities that her friends had always admired in her.

Following the Second World War when she was fully recovered from her illness she acted in Zürich and Basel.

Nowadays Brigitte Horney, who has moved to the United States and married for a second time, only occasionally returns to the Federal Republic to show enraptured audiences glimpses of her unforgettable acting. She appears mostly in television plays.

Richard Reimar
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 29 March 1971)

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■ EDUCATION

Government presents new educational reforms

BY STATE SECRETARY HILDEGARD HAMM-BRÜCHER

A nation's intellectual and cultural background is reflected in its views on education. The structure and content of an education system reveal what a society thinks of itself. Seen in this light, educational policy in the Federal Republic has become the yardstick by which to measure the credibility of our constitution, Basic Law, that was drawn up in 1949 in ready realisation of the need for a change for the better.

Wilhelm von Humboldt, the man behind the idea of the German university, created the ideal of a Classical education that was subsequently copied by many other nations.

It is his later imitators who must be given the rather dubious credit for having caused the structure and content of Humboldt's educational ideas to be preserved right up to the present day, despite all attacks and other events.

At the beginning of their protest movement the young academic generation summed up the situation disrespectfully though aptly by claiming that the mustiness of a thousand years lay beneath professorial gowns.

Goethe once said on behalf of the German people that politics was a loathsome ditty that the uninitiated should not be allowed to ponder over.

This idea of education has caused the splendour and misery of the German people, the full extent of which still remains unclear up to the present day.

It has led to the great scientific and intellectual achievements on the one hand and, on the other, the political ignorance that resulted in National Socialist perversion.

A small number of people had a monopoly on education. The vast majority of the population had to make do with an elementary education provided by a socially degraded teaching staff that taught them as much arithmetic, reading, writing and religion as was thought necessary for them to become hard-working, dutiful and obedient subjects.

As we know, this undemocratic education system became a tool of National Socialist ideology and upbringing as did all other branches of life.

After the total collapse of the Nazi regime we first experienced a period of self-criticism and pondered over the connection between the social order and the aims of our education system.

During these years many promising starts in the right direction were made but there was no purposeful new beginning. Schools and universities were not radically reformed and no educational priorities were set as life began to return to normal in our country.

When the education system was built up, again the same structures were taken over. That meant that religion once again split primary school children and the school situation tended to worsen, especially outside towns and cities.

There was great public alarm at the beginning of the sixties, when comprehensive material was put forward to show what had been neglected by education policy in the Federal Republic. Statistics forecast an inevitable educational disaster in this country.

Demand for equality of opportunity and fair treatment for children of all social levels became the main driving force of an educational reform movement that has caused a real change of thought in the past six years despite deep-set

conservative ideas on the subject of education and, recently, has led to corresponding action.

In its 1970 Education Report the government outlined the basic principles for the future expansion of the educational system.

The disadvantages facing children from uneducated families must be overcome in order to ensure equality of opportunity. This end will be served by elementary education which aims at helping the physical, intellectual, mental and social development of individual children of pre-school age.

The evening-out of opportunity and the help given to individual children will continue in later school life. The school system divided into elementary school, secondary modern and high school and originally based on class principles will be replaced by a graded school system with specialisation and streaming after a child's sixth year of schooling.

Furthermore the traditional differentiation between popular and academic education must be ended. Until the end of their compulsory period of schooling all children will enjoy a general education based on the same academic principles.

Schools must no longer act as a distribution centre for career opportunities, or not at this stage at least. There is already a fair amount of agreement today that a large number of experiments concerning comprehensive schooling will be carried out in the next few years.

What is more, I am certain that after the trial period comprehensive schooling will cease to be a bone of contention between the parties - in ten to fifteen years' time at the latest.

The next section of reforms in what is known as the Second Secondary Stage is equally as important.

The traditionally incompatible worlds of the apprentice, who is trained for a particular profession, and the high school pupil who is educated for further study are no longer as rigidly separated as was once the case.

Apprentices are obviously the poor relations of education policy in this country and need today, and will do in future, a general education and specialised career training. The widened field of fostering talent now recognises career training to be of equal value as the Classical high school education.

For this reason as high a proportion of a school year as possible should attend school to the end of the second secondary stage, or twelve years in all, and thus be in a position to take advantage of the opportunities offered by further education in the tertiary sphere.

A definite school structure ensuring equality of opportunity would mean the end of the Humboldt-type university. The student protest movement in the Federal



Hildegard Hamm-Brücher
(Photo: Archiv/J. H. Darchinger)

Republic has its own specific and justified causes on top of the general worldwide reasons. Universities on their own are obviously incapable of reforming studies, teaching, science and the operation of learning.

University reform today is therefore initially no more than a determined attempt to exist in the war on two fronts against indefatigable conservative and radical beliefs and, while under fire from both sides, to build a new university system stone by stone. The first measures are:

- Legislation to introduce and pass university reform,
- Planning and rationalising the university construction programme,
- The democratic participation of all groups of members in self-administration,
- The reorganisation and support of university research and the fostering of a new academic generation.

And a start to the reform of studies taking advantage of the opportunities offered by the technical media.

The fourth and final stage of a democratic education system has only attracted public attention in recent years - further education for adults will achieve unlimited importance if the principle of equality of opportunity is maintained.

It is already agreed unanimously today that "further organised learning", "contact studies", political education and general education for teachers, technicians, housewives and doctors are necessary if the education system is to keep up with the rapid changes in this field and the demands they make.

Finally, there is the question of whether all these ambitious plans and ideas can be put into practice.

Social reforms have rarely proved one hundred per cent successful. The Danish philosopher Søren Kierkegaard once said, "True reform always means making life more difficult for oneself and taking on an extra burden."

This is a good description of the government's present efforts. Within the

framework of the extremely limited opportunity it has, it is prepared to introduce and put forward its proposed reforms along the eleven Federal states.

The first steps have been taken the past twelve months:

An agreement has been made between the central government and the Federal state governments to form a committee that is to draw up by this year the first overall educational plan containing the joint reform measures to be taken up to 1985.

This will be followed by an education budget setting down the costs of the reforms. We already know the probable costs for the expansion of the education system will in fact correspond to the actual extraordinarily high.

At present some 25,000 million a year are spent on education and about four per cent of the gross national product. By 1985 the proportion will have to double to eight per cent. Not even the current information we have means that we should now be aware of the problems involved in financing the reforms.

During the same period that the natural changes in the school and university system already described are being carried out there will be other lasting reforms. Teacher training will be reformed.

Educational reform means higher tax

Free Democrat Hildegard Hamm-Brücher, State Secretary for Education and Science, has said that the overall education plan will be carried out if expenditure on education is increased.

In an interview with Südwestfunk, Baden-Baden, Hildegard Hamm-Brücher said that the mollycoddled citizens have to be provoked and told that educational reform could only be carried out by raising taxes.

The education plan costs more than be imagined at the moment, she said. We must prepare the public for this.

Hildegard Hamm-Brücher has a severe controversy, even in government circles, as it is not at all clear that educational reform will be given priority in the programme of domestic reform.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 5 April 1971)

experimental schools will provide practical experience and allow teachers accustomed to new teaching methods learning and working processes and behavioural patterns.

At the same time new curricula have to be drawn up and tested with aim of defining learning aims more and describing the individual learning stages more accurately.

The main concern in the university sphere is to link the measures planned accelerated and rationalised expansion and structural reform of the studies with those for reforms of studies.

Otherwise there would be some criticism in the younger generation. It is clear that the State would be with a technocratic reform. But not our intention.

Whatever the case, even if optimistic hopes materialise, we are with a difficult and probably long transition period of a least ten years for the proposed reforms are carried out.

(DEUTSCHE ALLGEMEINE SONNTAGSBLATT, 4 April 1971)

■ MEDICINE

Göttingen congress discusses physical growth

Describing the work of anthropologists and human geneticists is something that takes individual results, beliefs and well-founded hypotheses and forming them into a whole that does not exist in reality.

It is not certain that the conclusions they arrive at from their findings and forecasts they then base on their conclusions will in fact correspond to the actual state of affairs existing in the future.

Both sciences deal with facts that can suddenly change if outside influences change in a way that cannot be predicted today.

Not even the current information we have on the basic genetic structure of human life allows us to assume that these conditions will still be valid in a century's time.

There have been so many thorough-going changes since the dawn of the industrial era that we cannot rule out the

possibility of new forces influencing human life.

The changes in our living conditions are typified by the various laws governing physical growth. Professor Hans W. Jürgens, the Kiel anthropologist, dealt with these in his lecture to the congress.

During the first thirty years of the nineteenth century, the differing living conditions, especially where nutrition is concerned, were thought to be the main reasons for differences in physical growth between the various social classes. Explaining the difference by referring to educational standards for instance would have appeared absurd.

But classification of this type has now proved to be unacceptable. The change in thought was heralded by the startling observation made by a scientist in 1893 that a factory worker was better nourished than a smallholder in Baden and therefore grew taller.

After the First World War education came to the forefront as a previously unknown "lifting mechanism". But even the medical examinations of conscripts in 1968 and 1969 showed that there was a clear decrease in height from the upper to lower social levels.

These differences are gradually beginning to level off. Professor Jürgens believes that education too could soon lose its character as a social sieve with the result that we would have to look around for different criteria of what affects growth.

The professor drew attention to a phenomenon that deserves consideration especially as little heed has been paid to it so far.

Dr Heinz Henseler, the Ulm psychotherapist who works at Ulm University Psychiatric Centre, has drawn up an alarmingly long list of prejudices and fallacies concerning suicide that are shared by laymen and specialists alike.

The statistics used up to now are the first target of Dr Henseler's attack. It is wrong to believe that more and more people were committing suicide, he said. The absolute figure was indeed rising; he added, but compared with the population figures the number of suicides has remained constant since 1900 - every year nineteen to twenty people in every 100,000 commit suicide in this country.

The idea that a tendency to commit suicide can be inherited was also false, Dr Henseler said. Of the 31 pairs of twins where one of the two had committed suicide there was no case of the other taking his own life.

Dr Henseler also dismissed the frequently heard talk of "suicide weather". Recent investigations show that there is no connection between the frequency of suicide and the weather situation.

That is also true of the notorious "Johi", a warm, southerly wind that affects South Germany. Neither the approaching "Johi" nor the wind itself has any influence on the number of suicides.

Even the sad autumn weather that innumerable novels describe as typical suicide weather is without significance as far as suicide figures are concerned.

Dr Henseler states that the suicide rate increases in March and not in the autumn and reaches its climax in the sunny summer month of June.

What factors influence growth? Can a strict difference still be made between town-dwellers and countryfolk? The latter half of a congress organised in Göttingen by the Association for Anthropology and Human Genetics dealt with these issues.

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Ulm doctor explodes suicide fallacies

Mysterious cosmic influences can also be ruled out as a cause of suicide. There is no connection between suicide figures and the phases of the moon, sun-spots, magnetic storms or other occurrences in the universe.

Most ideas about the typical suicide case are equally false. It is not true for example that suicide is particularly common among the very rich and the very poor.

Instead, Dr Henseler blames the lack of social contacts for many cases of suicide and adds that social isolation is independent of income.

The belief that Catholics are less likely to commit suicide than Protestants does not stand up to close examination. Catholic countries such as Italy, Spain, Portugal and Ireland do admittedly have a very low suicide rate but in the equally Catholic countries of Austria and Hungary more people commit suicide than in Protestant Sweden.

Another widespread belief is that most people decide to commit suicide after taking stock of their situation. This form of suicide may be common among politicians, diplomats, officers and agents. Dr Henseler states, but in actual fact it is very rare.

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New skin bank requires more donors

People suffering from serious burns have an increased chance of survival now that the first "skin bank" in Central Europe has been opened in Oggersheim, Ludwigshafen, at the largest hospital in this country specialising in this kind of accident.

Dr Peter Zellner, the head of the burns department, explained that the skin bank would contain the tissue data of voluntary donors.

As the typical features of the donors' skin are listed in hospital files, a person suffering serious burns will quickly be able to receive skin that is as similar as possible to his own tissue.

Previously the hospital has only been able to use a donor's skin to cover burnt patches on the recipient's body for about a week. After this period it was always rejected.

Not that the skin of the donor is similar to that of the recipient, wounds can be covered for as long as four weeks and, in some cases, even longer.

So far the donor files only contain the names of fifteen men who have agreed to stand at the hospital's disposal in a case of emergency. The skin is taken from their thigh and re-forms after about a week in hospital without forming a scar.

The skin bank still requires more donors so that it will be able to operate on patients belonging to any of the 21 possible tissue groups.

The Ludwigshafen hospital admits patients with third degree burns from almost the whole of the Federal Republic. At present the skin donors still have to be rushed to the hospital when a case arrives.

But soon the hospital will be able to keep a supply of skin. It is hoped that the hospital will receive biological refrigeration equipment in about six months time, enabling it to store skin in liquid nitrogen at temperatures of minus 190 degrees.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 2 April 1971)

"Of our 250 suicide patients only two considered suicide as a deliberate way out of a hopeless situation," he added.

At the end of his article, published in Deutsches Ärzteblatt, the medical journal, Dr Henseler listed a number of important rules to be adhered to when with people who are likely to commit suicide.

He emphasises that people must not believe that a person who "speaks" of suicide will not carry out what he says. It has been shown that some eighty per cent of people committing suicide announce their intention beforehand.

Dr Henseler does not believe in the view that the subject of suicide should not be brought in front of people in great despair in case this could suggest a way out to them.

"Anyone who is desperate will have already considered suicide," Dr Henseler says. "People who have not considered it will not be pushed to suicide by the very mention of the word. In both cases the patient is relieved that someone is concerned about him and understands his problem."

Sympathetic conversations are the best means of stopping a person from committing suicide, Dr Henseler confirms. With eighty per cent of his patients he has managed to take the sting out of their problems after talking to them with the result that not even drugs were necessary to brighten up their mood.

Ludwigshafen, 2 April 1971

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 2 April 1971)

■ THE ECONOMY

Stagflation may hit us in 1972 - but all forecasts are unreliable

Everyone was mistaken, or almost everyone. Perhaps there are experts here and there who insist that they provided accurate forecasts for this year's economic developments but most are ready to admit that their forecasts for 1971 were wrong.

Last autumn there was a general belief that there would be clear signs of economic stagnation in April 1971. At the start of the year nearly all forecasts were pessimistic.

The predominant theme running through the statements of producers, economists, trade unionists and politicians was that it was only a question of whether there would be stagnation or recession in the course of the next twelve months.

Things have turned out quite differently. The first months of the new year have brought an economic growth rate that is scarcely down on that of the second half of 1970. There is full employment despite short-time working at a number of factories. There can be no talk of stagnation.

This unexpected development in the economic sphere shows once again that forecasts are more of an art than a science despite all the refined methods employed.

The 1971 Budget shows how quickly economic forecasts are followed by the reverse trend. When Alex Möller presented his draft Budget last July there was violent criticism about the proposed twelve per cent rise in expenditure. Attacks came from his own ranks as well as from the Opposition.

The Finance Minister thought himself perfectly justified when in the autumn it was commonly forecast that trade was about to slacken.

But now there is no call for an inflationary Budget. Alex Möller is forced by the economic situation to warn his colleagues not to spend too much.

The stagnation feared has not materialised. Industrial production is on average six per cent higher than a year ago. The pre-Easter retail trade is booming - turnovers are expected to be ten per cent higher than this time last year. Share values have increased by almost twenty per cent since the beginning of January. Actually everyone could be satisfied but neither consumers nor producers feel confident.

In recent weeks there has been a lot of foolish talk of an industrial conspiracy against the governing Coalition of Social and Free Democrats.

It cannot be denied that never before in the history of the Federal Republic have relations between the producers, or at least the associations representing them, and the government been under such a strain as they are today.

But it would be oversimplifying the issue to claim that this was due purely to the obvious distrust felt by economic bosses for a government headed by Social Democrats. Ministers such as Karl Schiller and Alex Möller enjoy the confidence of large sections of the economy.

A whole series of wrong decisions was needed to produce the present friction. The most serious factor was probably the activity of Young Socialists and other extreme groups within the SPD, though there was more talk than action here.

But this aroused increasing doubts as to whether the Social Democrats would in the long run think of themselves as the defenders of a market economy based on competition and private property.

Along with this worry, which is more concerned with the future, came growing

DIE ZEIT

unease about economic and financial policies.

For nine months Karl Schiller steered a zigzag course. Between the controversial upward revaluation of the Mark in October 1969 and the no less controversial decision about advance tax payments in July 1970 economic policy fluctuated between stop, go and wait and see.

As far as financial policy is concerned, there is probably no one today who can sort out all the innumerable announcements and denials about tax increases and tax cuts.

Everything Cabinet members and their party colleagues have been able to do to confuse all those concerned and make them uneasy has been done.

This game has obviously become popular and is being repeated again now that the memorandum of the special committee has been submitted. The Ministry of Finance is announcing alternative proposals which are followed by denials which are then interpreted.

The senselessness of claims that industry is trying to cause trouble for the Socialist-Liberal coalition by deliberately painting a dismal picture of the economic situation can be seen from the fact that the trades unions have been making more pessimistic statements in recent months than the Federal Industrial Association.

It was the unions and experts close to their viewpoint that first warned of a worsening of the situation and demanded new measures to curb the economy.

Karl Schiller himself, who as the Minister responsible should want a confident

ent mood, does not know how to spread optimism. Even the unexpectedly good development in the first few weeks did not end his belief that 1971 would see more fears than hopes. The Economic Affairs Minister did what he once scorned Chancellor Ludwig Erhard for - he travelled through the country preaching common sense.

Admittedly, Schiller knows what he is talking about. The continuation of the boom must not be allowed to mislead people to think that the economic problems causing us concern yesterday have today disappeared.

The reverse is true. All factors leading to a pessimistic view of the economic situation three months ago are still having their effect. Then as today:

Prices are rising. The cost of living rose 4.3 per cent in February, compared with February 1970, a new record level.

Profits of many firms are sinking or stagnating at a low level. Brokers reckon that the large chemical firms for instance will achieve in the first months of 1971 "at best" the yield of the poor final quarter of 1970.

Firms are less willing to buy new equipment or spend money on rationalisation or on extending to full capacity. Otto Wolff von Amerongen has said that capital investment threatens to break down under the pressure of high wages. Statistics show that orders received by firms during the past six months have been on average lower than the current turnover.

So far we have only won time and not solved any problems. That is also the reason why the Bundesbank hesitated before lowering Bank rate and has adhered to its restrictive course - and why Karl Schiller is grateful for Karl Klasen's support.

Cost inflation a threat to full employment

Cost and price inflation has become more and more an international phenomenon... This gives rise to the question of whether defects in the international currency system have contributed to this general spread of inflationary tendencies or whether it is chiefly a matter of the worldwide spread of new trends in social development weakening the effectivity of traditional instruments for controlling wages and prices.

This passage in the Bundesbank's annual report outlines the main worry of credit and currency policy last year and suggests the problems that will arise in future developments.

Discussing the present domestic situation, the report states as an introduction that "the economic situation at the end of March 1971 shows clear symptoms of a cost inflation, that threatens not only the value of money but could also, if it lasts, endanger full employment."

Producers obviously hoped that the rise in costs would gradually level off but with prices continuing to rise so that their profit margin would at least not shrink further.

If this hope proves justified, it is improbable that investment will continue to sink. A continuation of cost inflation could lead to prices being increased without demand keeping pace. "Sales would thus stagnate and there would be a rise in unemployment," the report concludes.

The rise in costs should be checked by economic policy. Wage increases awarded in recent weeks still lie above the rate recommended by the government.

And this rate, the report adds, did not

The concern in Bonn and Frankfurt is the same as three, nine or twelve months ago - if the inflationary wage spiral checked, the government will not be able to carry out its promise to stabilise the situation.

Expressed in figures, production increased 3.5 per cent in 1970 while prices rose by about fourteen per cent. Increases this year have not been as high as in 1970, but the inflationary pressure is still strong.

In other words, producers will raise their prices in the next few months if they are to be in a position to finance necessary investments. But the wage increases must sink considerably.

Stability will be achieved in 1971, if Schiller, the Chancellor and the Finance Minister manage to win over the trades unions to such a policy. Otherwise, the inflationary pressure will have to continue.

Then the fears of Professor Klasen should provide more competition chairman of the economic expansion and freedom for the consumer in a sphere mission, would become reality, if the result of the "distribution battle" between management and unions would be stagnation in 1972.

This stagflation would probably be worse than the one that had been feared for this year. Economic growth would be paralysed and prices would continue to rise.

On the political side, Schiller and the whole of the coalition have again promised price stability. The economic side, the competition between industry in the international market would be threatened. Our exports are already 13.5 per cent higher than before the revaluation of the Mark in October 1969.

What is going to happen now? It is likely that everybody will subscribe to the words of Professor Claus Köhler, a member of the expert committee, that forecasts are uncertain at present.

Only one forecast seems to be certain - April - 1971 will be a year of uncertainty. And that does not apply to the economy.

Dietrich Sidi
(DIE ZEIT, 9 April)

LABOUR AFFAIRS

Trade unionist calls for cooperative system

Walter Hesselbach, the Chairman of the Board of the Bank für Gemeinnützigen Wirtschaft (Cooperative Bank), one of the most successful concerns owned by the trades unions, states in his book what trades unions pursue in running their affairs.

Hesselbach considers union-run enterprises to be an autonomous instrument in the trades unions' policy concerning competition and organisation.

They are, he says, pioneers of new, long time or be made even more desirable aims. Union-run enterprises should provide more competition for the consumer in a sphere mission, would become reality, if the result of the "distribution battle" between management and unions would be stagnation in 1972.

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Only one forecast seems to be certain - April - 1971 will be a year of uncertainty. And that does not apply to the economy.

Hesselbach believes that cooperative enterprises should independently determine and pursue new social aims, especially where competition cannot adequately fulfil its controlling function.

As the influence of the cooperative enterprises increased on the individual markets so would the field for the trades unions' economic policy as the opportunity for monopolistic behaviour increased and the pressure of competition decreased.

Hesselbach's economic views offend the basic principles of a free parliamentary democracy. What law will forbid non-trade union concerns the powers that Hesselbach demands for the enterprises he represents?

Are only those pursuing the "right" social aims to have a right to be autonomous and function without control in a sphere free of State influence?

Who is to prevent the confusion of mutually exclusive or incompatible aims? Even if aims are compatible, who is to provide uniform interpretation and priority of aims?

What is to prevent the confusion of the extent of economic measures to prevent demarcation disputes between various "autonomous" powers, excessive amplification of desired effects and failures due to the unintentional compensation of effects?

Autonomous economic policy made by different groups would automatically lead to wide-scale economic confusion which would increase with the strength of the individual firms whose power would not be controlled by competition.

Hesselbach is obviously annoyed by the fact that profits go into private pockets. He recognises that the desire for profit in efficient competition leads to economic freedom, high productivity and good supply but adds that the public interest is only secondary in private enterprise.

The government and Bundestag will not look on indifferently when a person calls in the name of a more and more misunderstood democratisation for an economic field of action for trades unions that is completely free of parliamentary responsibility and parliamentary influence.

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Government's economic pundits debate wealth distribution

quickly than in most comparable countries.

The second result is that the per capita share of wage and salary-earners in the national income has decreased despite an absolute increase in incomes. While the proportion of workers and employees in the total working population rose from 68.5 to almost 82 per cent since 1950, their share of the national income only increased from 58.6 to 65.2 per cent.

On top of this comes the fact that workers and employees scarcely had any part in the growth of productive capital. Seventy per cent of industry is owned by a negligible number of rich and super-rich.

In view of this it is no wonder that the unions are becoming less and less inclined to be the only body to foot the bill in pursuance of stability.

Another reason for this growing disillusion is the fact that union officials fear their members' anger. Workers here have already shown very impressively that they can carry out their own battle for better wages and conditions, like their colleagues in Britain, France or Italy. The fact that the formula of inflationary wages policy has also failed there is another story.

We would not be in the present dilemma if there had been a clear and energetic wealth policy allowing large sections of the working population to

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Trade union-owned enterprises on the other hand are, he says, devoted primarily to the public interest and the common good. Their social sense is greater. They too make a profit but it is spent on aims compatible with the general public interest.

These statements have a strongly ideological ring about them. Hesselbach counters any objection by adding that it is irrelevant whether the common good is actually achieved and what aims the head of an enterprise pursues on individual issues.

Accordingly, it does not matter what cooperative ventures do on the market or what they do with their profits. The decisive factor is the enterprise's intention.

As cooperative ventures always act in accordance with the common good, Hesselbach claims that they need not be subject to the control of competition.

Economic enterprises have been formed for a purpose. One of the main aims is a good and cheap supply of goods while bearing in mind aspects of social welfare and affluence. In the economy as a whole the decisive factor is that these aims are achieved as well as possible whereby the aims of the individual branches of industry are important only in so far that they do not run contrary to the aims of the economy as a whole.

It is well-known that a consistent policy of competition and laws passed by the State to set out the conditions for industrial activity correspond most closely with the aims of the economy as a whole and of social welfare as well as the

aim of liberty as we understand it at present. Hesselbach does not come to this conclusion. He does not plead for an energetic policy of competition. Basing his views on Marxist models, he describes the trend toward concentration as unremitting and concludes that there should not be a revolutionary change but a slow, almost unnoticed replacement of the private economy by a cooperative system.

The functions of competition that no longer works because of increasing concentration would then be taken over by cooperative enterprises belonging to the trades unions or the public.

Hesselbach's idealistic views about the competitive conduct of cooperative ventures do not fit in with reality. There are a large number of cases of public enterprises abusing their market power to the detriment of their customers or contractors.

This is one of the reasons why the legislature has rejected the establishment of a State-free sphere for individual ventures and subjected all enterprises, private, public or trade union, to the laws opposing a restriction of competition.

Even the "intention of the enterprise" does not guard against abuse of the market. Even where profits are spent at the discretion of the board of cooperative ventures, this would be of little consolation to those adversely affected.

Where would we be heading if positions of economic power were to be exploited arbitrarily by individual concerns who point out that they are using profits for what they claim is a good purpose though nobody is able to exercise any control over this? Can private firms be prevented from doing what cooperative concerns are allowed?

Hesselbach's informative book is an attempt to justify economic autonomy and functions for trade union organs. The government, the Bundestag, private enterprise and the consumer will be interested to see the role they are assigned in Hesselbach's plan.

Professor Walter Hamun
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 6 April 1971)

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■ AVIATION

Short-haul
VFW 614
rolls out
on schedule

The blue flash on a level with the cabin windows makes the fuselage longer and the mini among commercial jets appear larger than it really is: 65 ft long, seating forty in the standard model, with a range of 400 miles and 18.6 tons take-off weight.

The VFW 614 is a small plane. The jumbo would take ten times its complement.

The first one is ready to roll out of the VFW-Fokker assembly hangar on the outskirts of Bremen airport, a memorable occasion comparable with the launching of a ship.

Ready? Well, not quite. Several dozen mechanics in blue overalls are more or less busy screwing on and off pieces of sheet metal. Components of one kind and another are lying around all over the place.

A matter of days before the premiere the 614 looks like a plucked chicken. There's no avoiding that, the engineers say. By eleven a.m. on 5 April everything will be alright.

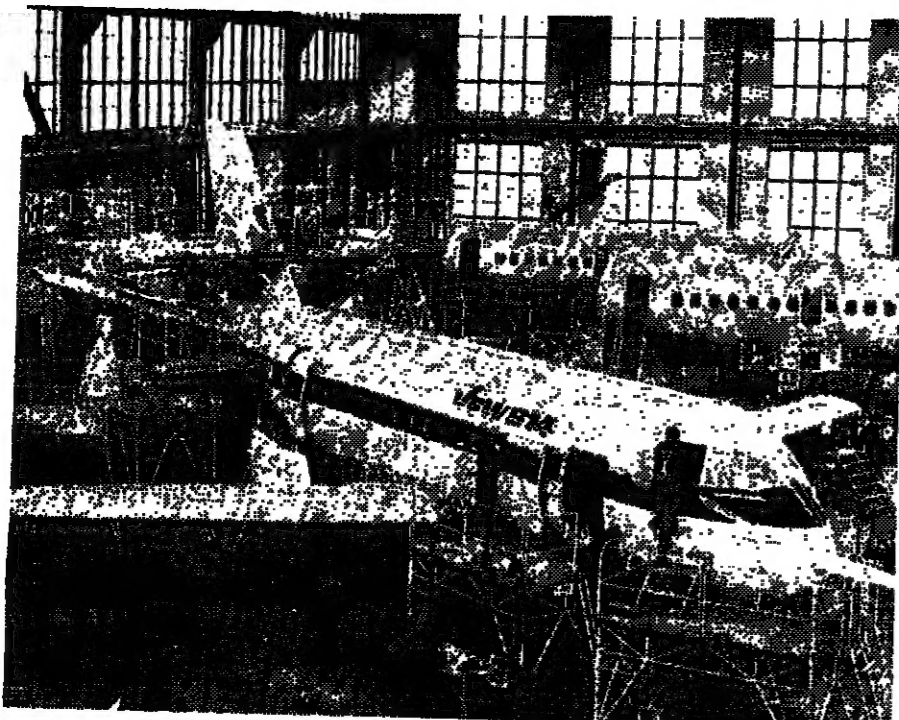
"Only a matter of 500-odd million Marks," Rolf Stüssel, head of the 614 project calmly comments. In reality, of course, he and everyone else concerned with the project is more than a little proud that a manufacturer here has got a commercial aircraft off the ground again for the first time since the Second World War.

They are also, of course, a little astonished that the project has at long last reached completion, some eight years since the first scale-model wooden mock-up, twenty times smaller than the finished article, was exhibited at the Paris aviation salon.

Boeing, the world's largest manufacturer of commercial aircraft, with their headquarters in the far north-west of the United States took only two years to develop a mock-up of a short-haul aircraft twice the size - the Boeing 737 - from a wooden model into the real thing of steel and aluminium.

Boeing, by the way, have now run into difficulties because of a Senate decision against the construction of a supersonic transport plane.

"Development work proper and the construction of the prototype only took us two and a half years," blond 39-year-old Stüssel comments. The remainder, five and a half years, were spent in a



VFW mechanics are here seen putting the finishing touches to the first assembly-line 614, this country's first commercial jet airliner. (Photo: VFW-FOKKER)

political tug-of-war over the decision as to whether the aircraft should be built at all. "We are on time," placards proclaim all over the factory with reference to the roll-out of the 614. Are they? In 1965 when the supervisory board of Vereinigte Flugtechnische Werke, headed by Arno Seeger, at that financial director of Krupp's, decided to go ahead with the 614 it was scheduled to be marketed in 1969.

Rolf Stüssel, whose fast talk and accent leave the native listener in little doubt that he hails from Berlin, has staked his career on the future of the country's first commercial jet since 1963.

That was when he joined a team of engineers from the three aircraft manufacturers in the north of the country, Weserflug, Fokke-Wulf and Hamburger Flugzeugbau, who since 1961 had been engaged, under the direction of Martin Schrecker, on the development of a number of aircraft designs for both civilian and military purposes.

Their fourth design, the 614, was a jet transport for developing countries, a bush aircraft. It was intended to cost three million Marks and designed for use on grass airstrips in the South American jungle and the deserts of Australia.

Martin Schrecker designed jet engines mounted on the wings with the express aim of forestalling damage resulting from loose screws.

Rolf Stüssel has retained this basic principle even though the aircraft that rolled out of the hangar on 5 April has virtually nothing in common with the design originally conceived nearly ten years ago.

"We don't want to provide vacuum

cleaner for the runways," he says in defence of the unusual design.

The bush aircraft without even a pressurised cabin has evolved into an up-to-the-minute commercial aircraft with navigational aids and electronic equipment that compare well with those of a jumbo jet.

At nine million Marks it is three times more expensive than originally planned too and is now primarily intended for the European and American markets.

VFW designers are particularly proud of the fact that the 614 would pay its way on domestic routes in this country even if only 57 per cent of seat capacity were used. Lufthansa's Boeing 737s need to fill 72 per cent of their capacity to be an economic proposition.

The project survived two mergers. In 1964 the two Bremen aircraft manufacturers merged to form VFW and five years later VFW and five years later VFW merged with Fokker of Holland to form the first supranational concern in the European aircraft industry.

The first setback occurred in 1965 when Lycoming, the American manufacturer, abandoned development work on the engine the VFW team had counted on. The US air force was no longer interested in the design.

Anxiety over the jet engines needed to fly the aircraft economically at low altitudes, an absolute necessity for the short-haul routes for which the project was designed, has continued ever since.

In 1965 the Bremen boffins persuaded Bristol Siddeley, the British engine manufacturer, to develop a suitable engine on the basis of a military design and sell it to power the 614 at a flat rate. Snecma of France cooperated on the venture.

It was not until 1967 that the Federal government in Bonn signed the agreement to go halves on the 200-million-Mark development costs of the engine. This amount was included as part of the offset payments agreement towards the foreign exchange costs of stationing the British Army of the Rhine in this country.

Three years later at a stage by which the first shell of the 614 had long since been assembled in Bremen Whitehall again, came knocking at Bonn's door demanding a further fifty million Marks because engine development costs had since increased to 300 million Marks.

Bristol Siddeley had meanwhile been taken over by Rolls Royce, who were now responsible for the 614's engine. The two governments seemed to be on the verge of agreement and the first engine was on its way from England to Bremen when the story of Rolls Royce going bankrupt broke.

Once again Bremen had every reason to worry about the prospects of ever receiving delivery of the engines required.

In the meantime the second jet for the first finished aircraft has been delivered and the official takeover charge of Rolls Royce's business has an assurance that a further two engines will be delivered.

Over and above this the German manufacturers can only hope that the government will maintain production of Rolls Royce, now nationalised, and the engines rolling off the assembly line provided that Bonn chips in.

In the course of time Rolf Stüssel developed what might be called a pessimistic optimism about the future of the project as its prospects have wavered.

There was, for one, the scepticism of partners to share the risk since could not even underwrite half the cost without jeopardising its finances.

After much chopping and changing partners in the project are now VFW's Dutch other half, Sabot, Fairley of Belgium and Stiel, a subsidiary of Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm.

Two British firms cried off at years spent hoping that either the North American Aviation of the States might participate in the project proved to have been wasted time.

When Bremen enquired among aircraft manufacturers whether they were interested in joining forces on the project a story similar to that of the VFW emerged.

Because of high wages and production costs in the United States the development and manufacture of small aircraft is too costly a business there. This, too, was the reason why independent agency responsible for final analysis, was the reason why manufacturers cried off.

Then there was the problem of financing. It was not until mid-1967 that the Federal government declared the project deserving of financial support. It announced itself willing to foot 50 per cent of VFW's development bill.

Two years later, though, at the end of April 1968 just before the Hanover show, Essen clamped down, Ge-Vogelsang had taken over a badly shaken Krupp's, the main shareholder in VFW.

He felt that the 614 was too much risk. After an initial vague estimate research and development costs were put at 120 million Marks and continuing to increase.

It took three months of tough bargaining in Bonn before the government agreed to foot eighty per cent of the development bill in the form of a subsidy which would be repayable in certain circumstances.

Vogelsang gave the final go-ahead. Work on the construction, production and test-flying of three prototypes and two partial mock-ups could then begin. According to the latest estimates the venture will cost 290 million Marks - this figure does not include work on engines.

Sales of 175 aircraft are expected to cover the costs. If production goes as at present planned, with two rolling off the assembly line per month will be seven years before the 614 is paid for itself.

By the early eighties the Federal government may well be repaid in full the project start to run at a profit soon as the project has broken even and too starts to make a profit on further 614 sold.

Market surveys so far conducted by VFW representatives feel fairly optimistic. World requirements of short-haul jets in the VFW 614's category are estimated at between 1,200 and 1,500 units.

VFW have not lost their head and hoped perhaps to corner 25 or thirty per cent of the market. Sales would amount to 400 units. To reach this VFW need to sell another 374 aircraft.

Helmut Michael
(DIE ZEIT, 2 April 1971)

MOTORING

A million electric cars on the
roads by 1980

Hannoversche Allgemeine

By the early eighties a million or so electric-powered motor vehicles could be on the roads of this country, the board of the Rheinisch-Westfälisches Elektrizitätswerk (RWE) reckon.

The prototype commercial vehicles at Kettwig at the end of March noted that a good ten per cent of the fourteen million motor vehicles at present on the roads could well use electric-free and virtually noiseless electric power, particularly in local traffic in built-up areas.

Within ten years' time an electric private car is expected not only to be on the roads but also to cost little more to buy than conventionally-powered cars.

RWE, who are mainly interested in supplying the power for their joint development venture with a battery manufacturer, estimate power requirements as follows:

Assuming that electric vehicles, be they

Vehicle inspection

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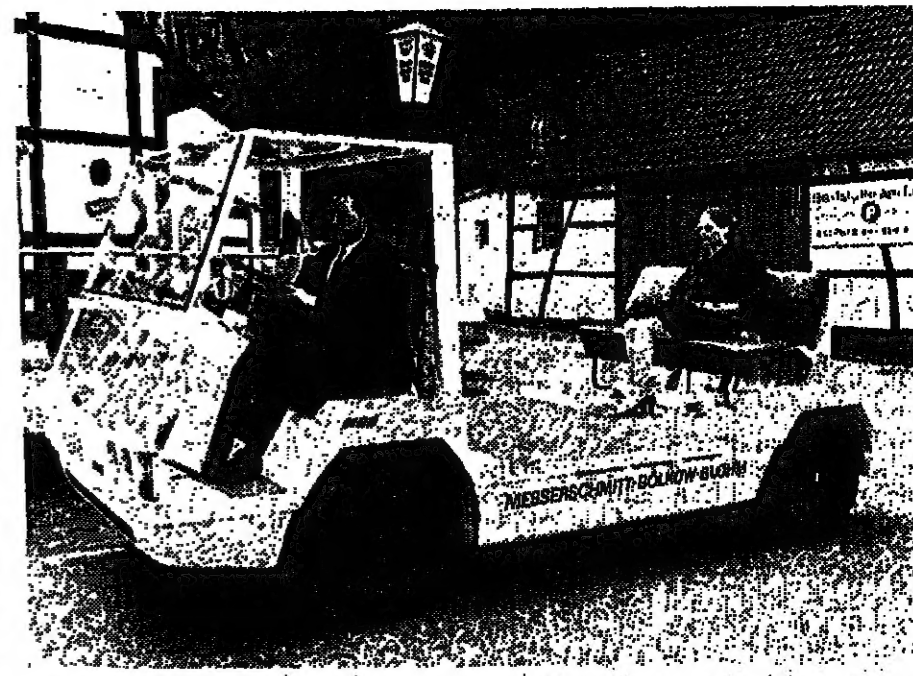
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This commercial vehicle chassis forms part of many electric-powered motor vehicle projects under development. Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm, the manufacturers of this prototype, are one of the country's leading aerospace consortia. (Photo: dpa)

The lightweight delivery van, limited for the time being to a payload of one ton, has a synthetic body, a range of 105 kilometres (65 miles) and, like the bus, a maximum speed of roughly eighty kilometres an hour.

On test runs with members of the Press on board the top speeds at least were borne out.

RWE board spokesman Dr Meyenburg pointed out that many problems remain to be solved over the next few years before the electric car will be in a position to replace the combustion-engine family saloon and so play its part in safeguarding the environment from car exhaust and noise in built-up areas.

The most pressing problem, he commented, was that of recharging batteries (the present lead batteries weigh four tons). RWE are of the opinion that replacement batteries rechargeable within a couple of hours hold forth most promise at present.

The project is in full swing and has made considerable progress in other countries too - America, Britain and Japan, for instance.

In this country, Dr Meyenburg claimed, virtually every commercial vehicle manufacturer is thinking in terms of replacing conventional propulsion by electric power at some stage or other.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 7 April 1971)

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